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net. His mother and aunt, taking their burden baskets, went to fetch manioc roots, which they had put to soak; the uncle was bathing near by. Aside from the youth, there remained in the house only a little boy some seven years old. Suddenly the youth fell from the platform, which was about 2½ m. above the ground, and for some time remained immobile on the floor. Then he said: "Why didst thou quarrel with me? Now I shall leave!" He arose and took to the jungle. The little boy followed him in bewilderment; but the youth, noticing him, left the trail and hid himself. A little later he returned to the house, staggering, fell upon a box, and there died of the poison he had taken.

There is one very serious motive for feuds and murder among the Tukuna: the suspicion that certain persons are using their magical powers to the detriment of others. Without exaggeration, this suspicion affects 10 per cent of the total population, with varying intensity; it is confirmed and accepted by some, denied by others. In the section on "Magic and Religion" I shall discuss this subject in more detail.

Drunkenness.—Drunkenness is the Tukuna's national vice and their only one. At their feasts, men, women, and children drink, and perhaps half the men and a tenth of the women and children become intoxicated. Many continue to dance even when drunk, beating a drum and singing without annoying anyone; but some become troublesome and offensive. Others, exclusively men, drink until they collapse into a hammock or in some corner, or even in the yard, where they vomit and sleep it off; still others grow quarrelsome, provoking more or less serious brawls that result in injuries or even deaths.

The small extent to which alcohol arouses the sexual instinct in Indians is notable; the youths drink, dance, and beat drums with their companions throughout the nights and days, apparently having no eyes for the girls, who in groups of two to five are doing the same thing. I have never seen Tukuna youths, whether drunk or sober, fighting over girls.

However, at these parties, in some corner of the house or yard there is invariably a group of men, already more or less senile, who humor themselves with obscene jokes, accompanied by hoots of laughter and illustrative gestures, though they never annoy the opposite sex with their nastiness.

Industry.—One cannot tax the Tukuna with being "most indolent," as did Ribeiro de Sampaio; and the yarn about the Indian who lives with his family for a whole week on a bunch of bananas, passing the entire time sleeping or swinging in his hammock, appears quite different to a firsthand observer.

Except for those who are on the road to ruin because of their dependence upon civilized establishments, above all on rum stills, the Tukuna maintain a stable economy in their own lives. Many of them through their own efforts succeed in obtaining such material improvements as good firearms, iron tools, and sufficient clothing—even sewing machines.

Unmarried youths work least—when they do not hire themselves out to the Neobrazilians—but girls and married couples are hardly ever idle except after sundown. Usually, whenever I sought out a Tukuna, it happened that nobody was at home, or at most, only the children were. It was necessary to wait until afternoon when the owners returned to the house from their work. The reason that

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881 still on the tapir hide, and carry her to the river's edge, where the mother and the paternal uncle's wife remove her ornaments, while the arrow is stuck in the water some four meters from shore. Completely stripped, the vərëkị kneels naked in the water, and the same shamans who were busy with the arrow now wash her with [842] handfuls of water, always passing the liquid from feet to head to prevent her becoming prematurely pregnant. If the shamans overdo in this task, the girl will never have children; if, afterward, a girl is sterile, the same shamans must be called in again to undo the spell. Finally, the vərëkị crawls on all fours between the legs of one of the shamans, who remains standing in the water next to the arrow. Giving a leap and circling the arrow, she dives several times into the deeper water. While she is going ashore to be decorated anew, one of the shamans pulls out the arrow and holds it vertically over the surface of the river, while with the other hand he makes gestures with water toward the arrow. Once I saw a vərëkị, who was not carried to the bath but went afoot, throw before her path handfuls of ashes, on which she walked in order to protect herself against some malignant influence emanating from the earth.

The close of the ceremony.—The seclusion room and the platform beside it for the smoked meat are demolished, the wreckage being piled in the center of the house. This is swept, and all the rubbish, which is naturally considerable, is heaped up in burden baskets. Each guest takes an armful of the debris, and the women carry away the burden baskets full of rubbish, while others bundle up the dance staves, spears, and masquerade hooks. Thereupon all follow in procession to the river, where they throw their loads into the water (pl. 11, *c*). Unless this is done, all the residents of the house will sicken and slowly die.

On this occasion everyone takes a bath without removing his clothes; that is, [515] men, women, and children drag and toss one another into the river. Soon the clayey edge, wetted down by those entering and leaving, becomes so slick that any [522] push is sufficient to force a person to slip into the river. The scene arouses great hilarity and at times has a certain erotic stamp, but it is still an excellent refresher to raise the spirits of those who have drunk to excess.

The guests change their wet and muddy festive attire for workaday clothing, load their canoes, and leave, but those remaining behind take to their hammocks only after emptying the jars to the last drop of paiauarú. The house is again carefully swept and, as the only memory of the feast, there remains the vərëkị with a cloth wrapped round her head (pl. 15, *a*), costume fringes thrown over the highest rafters, a few costumes dangling from the house posts, and some dance staves that escaped destruction thrust beneath the roof thatch.

No remedy is applied to the vərëkị's denuded head; however, I once saw a [302] woman with a beautiful head of hair rub it over the girl's cranium immediately [757] after the depilation. I have never seen, or heard it said, that the operation has any disagreeable consequences for the girl except that she must wear a handkerchief tied round her head until the new hair has grown.

In the old days there was an additional ceremony immediately after the close of the feast, of which a remembrance is preserved in legends. The vərëkị was taken by her relatives to some fishing spot in the igarapé and, standing erect in the water, was washed with a solution of the drug timbó. It was hoped that this

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881 Several hours after midnight, half a dozen of the girl's relatives, holding her around the waist while her eyes are covered by the feather diadem, [535] dance back and forth toward the wall, which is cut open with a knife so that they finally pass through into the main room. As she is now more exposed to invisible forces, the relatives dance with her until near dawn, then slowly go outside and circle the house. At sunrise they uncover her eyes and have her throw a burning stick against a pole marked to represent the "enemy." She now walks without assistance and dances freely with the others in the house.

[302] Depilation follows. The girl sits on the tapir hide in the middle of the room while three to six women pull out her head hair in little bunches, [534] accompanied by a small drum (tambor) and rattle. She endures the operation calmly, not even drink being given to alleviate the pain. Her paternal uncle in a vigorous speech then instructs her about her future duties as a marriageable girl.

The masks are now surrendered, each owner receiving a piece of roast meat. The disguises are piled around the girl, until only her head protrudes. The cloth is then ripped and the shreds thrown over the house beams. The turury cloths, which now belong to the host, are wound up and put away.

The seclusion room and roast-meat stand are dismantled. The participants divide the pieces, going in a solemn procession to toss them into [482] the river. The girl is carried on the tapir hide held by five or six men over their heads in the procession. She undresses, and, kneeling in [751] shallow water where a magic arrow protects her against water demons, she is washed by all the men who have magical powers. She then redecorates herself and joins the dancers, who perform in the house until the last drop of beverage is drunk. At the end of the feast, everyone [522] bathes hilariously together, tossing each other into the water.

[226] Formerly, in order to bring a large haul of fish, the girl was washed again after the feast with a solution of timbó at an appropriate spot on [789] the creek.

Six to eight months later there is a supplementary but less ceremonial feast to trim the girl's regrown hair.

841 Subsequent menstruations entail few restrictions: a woman stays in her yard because the spirits of certain trees may injure her with an arrow and because contact with her would make a man inefficient in any undertaking.

836 **Marriage and adulthood.**—Sexual intercourse with prepubescent girls is unthinkable; with young women it brings shame on the whole family. There is no instance of ravishment. Rape is a grave offense to the parents.

584 A request for marriage is made to the girl's paternal uncle, but if the girl refuses peremptorily, she cannot be forced to marry. Public notice

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524 GAMES--playthings (e.g., dolls, blocks, mechanical toys); games of dexterity (e.g., string figures, tops, juggling, kite flying, billiards); problem games (e.g., riddles, charades, puzzles); games of calculation (e.g., chess, checkers, card games); special childrens' games; occasions for playing games; participants and spectators; special equipment; rules; organizers and sponsors of games (e.g., cliques, clubs, churches, communities, business organizations); etc. See also:

Childhood activities 857

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852 girls' ear lobes are pierced. The direction of this feast (pai-ëi'nĭ), as that of the painting ceremony, falls to the paternal aunt. Both follow the procedures common [604] to all the rites of passage, which are described in detail in connection with the puberty ceremony.

Spix relates that at the ceremony which he personally attended in Tabatinga (though from the evidence he apparently witnessed it only from afar!) the hair was plucked from a child two months old, and he says that this ceremony frequently cost the life of the child![1] But the boy shown in his plate "Maskenzug der Ticunas" has a bald head, is held in a woman's arms (it should be in a carrying sling), and appears to be about two years old. In any case, I have never seen or heard of a single instance where this operation caused the slightest harm to the child.

The hair-plucking ceremony, celebrated with all the elaboration of the major festivals, lasts two or three days. On the morning of the second day the child is [302] decorated with thick urucú paint on which hawk plumage is glued (pl. 12, *o*). Horizontal lines are painted to encircle the arms, forearms, thighs, and legs; two vertical lines are drawn on the front of the torso and two behind, and spots are daubed on the cheeks and forehead. On the arms are placed bands made from feathers (see p. 3[illegible]), other bands are placed on the legs. In the process of weaving these bands, short locks of hair from one of the child's relatives are inserted.

[301] A boy has a necklace of monkey teeth placed about the neck, and he is dressed in a double tanga of painted white tururí cloth (see p. 36). For a girl, a tanga of cotton cloth is used, for which nowadays purchased material is substituted. Pectoral strings of beads complete the feminine attire. Today, even though the child [482] undergoing this ceremony has already passed far beyond the age where it requires the carrying sling, the aunt seats it in a sling of tururí ornamented with painted triangles and dances with it thus in the midst of the guests. The ears are pierced in the manner described on page 38. Before the hair plucking no drug is given to the child. I observed that the children differ individually very much in sensitiveness. All the children cry quite enough, but it was extraordinary to see a boy at [152] least four years old struggle and bellow so desperately that a man had to hold him while three women were plucking his hair. In the end, the little one was completely exhausted and without a vestige of the ornaments worn at the beginning of the ceremony. His mother, seated near by without taking part, eyed her son with an indignant look and with evident disgust at his deportment, which appeared to shame her.

Some eight months afterward the child celebrates the dyupa'këë (na-pa'këë, forehead), a complementary feast of slight importance during which the hair, by then grown anew, is clipped straight across the forehead. On the same occasion the leftover decorations from the preceding ceremony, which have been kept on purpose, are burned.

857 *Childhood.*—The lives of children run a rather monotonous course, owing to the lack of opportunity for them to associate with one another. Once in a great while, ● 524 with the exception of a feast, where the preoccupation is different, one may see a number of them joined in play. Their toys are dolls of muirapiranga wood (see

[1] Spix and Martius, p. 1188.

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pl. 9, *b*) and animal figures, also of wood, miniature canoes, and small bows and arrows. Not uncommonly one will see a spinning-top (*ʔúⁿtəmačə̃*; Tessmann, *nótomas*) made of a tucumã nut, with a lateral hole and a wooden peg; it is spun by a cord twisted about this peg, the loop fastening the top being jerked by the left hand, which secures it. Contrary to what Tessmann says, the Tukuna do have the whirligig or buzzer disk (*Surrscheibe*, *muʼuk*[; l.g., mutuca, or gadfly)[1] made of a piece of gourd with serrated edges. The bull-roarer (*brinquedo do cão*) is rare; some say that it came to the Tukuna as a Neobrazilian game. Little girls and young maidens sometimes pass the time making cat's cradles with an endless cord, stretching it between the fingers and toes and using the teeth as an aid. 524 857

Very early, a small burden basket is made for a girl, with which she accompanies her mother to the clearing. A boy receives a small paddle and javelin and goes with his father in the canoe to fish. Furthermore, children begin to take active part in festivities at an early age, dancing with their little companions of the same age and sex and partaking of alcoholic beverages when their parents permit it. Later on, even though they can scarcely propel a canoe, they begin to play for hours on end in the igapó, killing small fry and eating tiny fruits. 857 868

Because they all, from the age of two years, know how to swim, there is no danger of drowning. Similarly, while searching for fruits they learn to climb trees with astonishing dexterity; they sometimes spend hours perched on tree limbs simply from sheer pleasure at being aloft.

I have already referred (p. 50) to the fact that children here squall and fight among themselves much more than in any other tribe I know of; also, the parents frequently punish them physically but on the whole do not scold them much with yells and insults, correcting them with a sudden gesture and with few words or none. With remarkable calm they discipline children under two years of age who become naughty or cry obstinately. With a silencing gesture the mother or father orders the eldest sister to fetch a flower of a species of nettle (l.g., pinupinú; T., na:-kuʼ), of which a few specimens are planted for this purpose around the clearing, and it is placed at the child's side without a word. If he obeys, very well; otherwise, if he touches the flower lightly with the naked skin of his limbs and body, the contact produces a painful burning sensation, which, however, is considered beneficial to the health of the infant. Usually the child recognizes the nettle on sight and is terribly afraid of it. Adults apply it as a remedy for local pain, poisonous insect bites, or rheumatism. Some fathers, moved by their predilection for male children, permit boys all sorts of abuses and naughtiness up to the age of three or four, while they oblige their daughters to bear silently the frequent, and not so innocent, attacks of the brothers' petty tyranny until the day of reckoning arrives. Then, the father, deciding that the cup of patience is filled, suddenly punishes the boy in such a way that he never again trusts in paternal forbearance, never again feels secure, and flees at the slightest suspicious movement (see p. 51). 857 861 [278]

[1] In Brazil, non-Indians make this toy out of a button with a string threaded through the holes, the free ends being knotted together. Holding the extreme ends of the double loop in both hands, the operator winds up the string tightly by a looping motion for which the button provides the weight. The extreme ends of the string are then pulled taut, and the button rapidly untwirls the string, producing a whining sound like that of a gadfly (*mutuca*).—Trans. [177]

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292 776 532 ma'vị, the araparyrana tree. (Pl. 18, *b*.) The fruits of this tree have an odor and anciently had an agreeable taste, since lost because the culture hero *ɔ'pi* dropped them into curare before leaving the earth. The costume of red or white tururí, which sometimes has sleeves but never trouser legs, covers the wearer from head to foot. The faceless head is conical and has on top a plume of uarumã stripe to the tips of which are attached small white placques of burity frond-stalks, rhomboid or divided, which represent the fruit of the araparyrana. The characteristic ornament of the costume consists of a painted, toothed J, simple or double. A rod is carried in [534] the right hand, while the left holds a long, slim bamboo whistle introduced into the mouth through a small orifice in the tururí; today this whistle is almost always replaced by the long stem of a papaya leaf.

ɗavị', maize. (Pl. 17, *a*.) The outfit, of white tururí painted with vertical stripes, has no face, no arms, and no legs. The conical head ends in a tuft representing a corn tassel. Two imitations of ears of corn are attached to each side, one about the height of the elbow, the other just below.

tɔị', caiarára monkey (*Cebus albifrons*) (pl. 18, *a*) and taikịrẽ', prego monkey (*Cebus fatuellus*) (pl. 18, *c*) are the two commonest types of costumes. Individually, the representation differs greatly, and in neither can one distinguish the animals whose names the represented demons bear, except that one or the other is shown with a phallus in the shape characteristic of the species. The faces are always diabolical; the garments, of red or white tururí, have no trouser legs and rarely have sleeves, the arms protruding through lateral openings.

292 [177] The imagination of the wearers has free play in the ornamental painting of the tururí, so that one observes modern airplanes represented side by side with traditional designs. These outfits are characterized by rattles suspended by wooden hooks, or on fantastically long and thick spears, or even on a smooth stick of wood 293 25 cm. in length by 2 cm. in diameter; with these the masqueraders rhythmically [534] beat against the hooks. Once I saw nine of these masqueraders holding a log as thick as a man's arm horizontally before them, with which they beat out the measure. Another carried a handful of slim, pointed rods of anajá ribs or similar material, which he threw, two or three at a time, like assegais, against the wall of the girl's seclusion room, where they remained sticking. The spectators shouted for him to throw them at the figure of the deer painted on the wall.

881 These tɔị' masqueraders always comport themselves in a very impetuous, cocky manner, beating on the house thatch before entering, and galloping furiously to and fro through the center of the festive house, with no regard for those who may be inside. After a while they present themselves in a threatening attitude before the jars, demanding drink, some of the tɔị' giving in exchange "their son" (pl. 16, *d*), a doll of tururí in more or less human form with a demon's face, which [524] is carried suspended from the backs and which after the feast serves as a plaything of the little girls.

[415] Those who have a face mask in one piece with the body costume drink by means of the tube of a papaya leafstalk. Afterward they again race off to disappear in the jungle, where they remove and store their masks; they never rest or sit down while in the house. As soon as a masked dancer, regardless of his type, enters the house, a few persons, sometimes even the owner or his wife, array themselves behind him and, holding on to his costume, accompany him in his mad career through the dwelling; to escort the taikịrẽ' or tɔị' thus is no simple matter, but it forms the favorite entertainment of the older children of both sexes. Probably this is what Spix meant to show in his plate with the two little girls holding the fringes of the masquerader in front of the rest.

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PLATE 9

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Wood carvings. *a*, Capuhira with young. *b*, Dolls of muirapiranga wood. *c*, Small bench in the form of a tortoise. *d*, Tucunaré and ray. *a*, *b*, *d*, × 2/9; *c*, × 2/13.

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532
322

a

[524]

[352]

b

c

d

WOOD CARVINGS

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PLATE 10

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String figures; canoe construction; weaving a quiver. *a–d*. String figures. *a*, *c*. "Hammock ornament." *b*. "Ray." *d*. "Paxiuba root." *e*. Construction of a dugout canoe. *f*. Calixto dauerú'k] weaving a quiver. *a–d*, × $\frac{1}{6}$.

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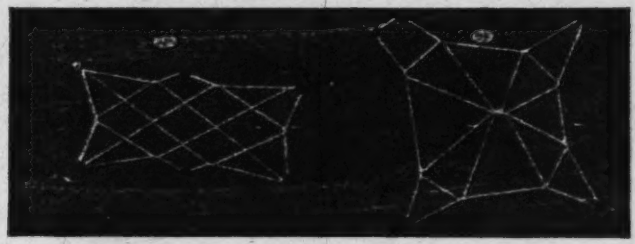

a b

c d

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STRING FIGURES; CONSTRUCTION OF A CANOE; CALIXTO dzuru'kĭ

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More than among other tribes, *Tucuna* children receive corporal punishment, especially with the external application of nettle flowers that are grown for this purpose at the edge of the yard. They play with dolls carved of muirapiranga, figures of animals, little canoes, small bows and arrows, and buzz-disks of gourd shells.

Boys' puberty observances.—There is a tradition that in former times, young men were initiated when their voices changed, being secluded and then perhaps formally admitted to the secrets of the megaphone (tá/ki) through an application of snuff called ká/vi, which is still used occasionally. There are no vestiges of homosexuality, as claimed by Tessmann (1930, p. 563).

Girls' puberty rites.—At her first menstruation, a girl is secluded in the house loft. This is not so cruel as certain travelers (Bates, 1863, 2:406) proclaim. Every girl submits willingly, convinced that her peculiar condition requires it and that its omission would be dangerous, as she is surrounded by invisible "immortals" and demons, who seek contact with her and at times cause extraordinary supernatural experiences. Many stories told to a girl in seclusion illustrate this dangerous state.

The people hasten to prepare for the girl a circular seclusion room adjacent to the east or west wall of the house, according to her moiety. They decorate the walls with painted bands and lines, and figures of the sun, moon, morning star, and deer, the last a symbol of vigilance and not a "totem."

Preparations for the feast sometimes require months. They prepare roast meat and beverages and make the house ready. The girl's father is host, but her paternal uncle and his wife direct all ceremonies concerning her person, being wholly responsible for her. Friends and acquaintances receive two invitations to the feast; the second, which specifies the date, is issued to the sound of the bark trumpet, which is carried hidden in the canoe.

In the exterior portion of the house, corresponding to the girl's seclusion room, a long fence is made with straw walls to conceal the megaphone (tá/ki), its statues, and the bark trumpet which operate behind it each night of the feast and are removed before daybreak and hidden underwater in the creek. People are chosen and invited to operate these instruments by the head of the house when the time comes; there is no permanent assignment. Inside the fence of the megaphone, snuff (ká/vi) or tobacco powder is taken with several ingredients (but not parica). The snuff is kept in a snail shell and blown into the nose by means of an apparatus made of a tubular bone and two quills of royal sparrow hawk feathers, or by means of a simple taboca (bamboo) tube. Boys of 7 or older customarily are given snuff, after which they may see and touch the instruments within the fence, which are taboo to women and to boys who have not yet had it.

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ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

532 **Art.**—The *Tucuna* were fine sculptors. Their carved figures on the dancing sticks, stools, and tucumã nut figures in their necklaces are at times very artistic. Painting is restricted mainly to masks and pottery ornamentation.

533 534 **Music.**—During feasts, the *Tucuna* sing in a falsetto voice so low that it can hardly be heard. Three important instruments are: (1) a wooden, tubular megaphone into which they speak and sing and which is 22 feet (6¼ m.) long with an opening 5 inches (12 cm.) wide and a mouthpiece 2 inches (5 cm.) long; (2) a conical trumpet 13 feet to 19½ feet (4 to 6 m.) long made of a strip of bark wound spirally; and (3) a piston whistle made of liana bark. The last is always sounded before the other two. In any ceremony there is always a faithful imitation of the European drum and a *Thevetia*-shell rattle, the latter taking the place of the conventional maracá, which is unknown. The old form of drum was possibly the shell of a chelonium, which now is used only in one ceremonial. There are also panpipes, bone flutes, and bamboo horns.

[177]

526 **Adult games.**—In shuttlecock, a maize-husk ball is batted into the air with the palm of the hand by men standing in a ring. In a tug-of-war in which a thick liana is used, one team of men competes against another. A ring-and-pin game is played by two men facing each other. Grown girls make cats cradles with threads wrapped around the fingers, toes, and head.

[524]

273 **Beverages.**—Women make alcoholic beverages from maize, cooked bitter manioc, and half-burned cakes (beijú) of manioc; the last was adopted from the Neo-Brazilians. Today many men are addicted to rum.

[177] [733]

SHAMANISM

754 756 Even today many Indians possess magic powers to help or harm others. These powers come from intercourse with the spirits of certain trees with which an old shaman puts his disciple in contact. The neophyte shaman receives a magic substance which contains invisible thorns. He throws these into his victim's body, where they reproduce and cause his death unless another shaman sucks them out and completes the cure by applying herbs. The shaman chews tobacco (formerly, he used a tubular wooden pipe with an opening on the side for the mouth) to become possessed of the spirit which supplied the magic pathogenic substance to the witch doctor. Chewing tobacco identifies the evil shaman.

[755]

[276]

753 Children fall ill when the spirits of the trees kidnap their souls. Epidemics come from the sun and are spread by the wind.

683 672 When the *Tucuna* are convinced that a shaman is responsible for one or more deaths, their revenge even reaches his relatives. In 1942, three *Tucuna* killed a much-feared shaman and his two sons. The avengers